Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

# Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07351 01 OF 03 191333Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-07 DHA-02
TRSE-00 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 /099 W
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R 190950Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2904
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASY DACCA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
HSSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 7305
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 7351

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PK
SUBJECT: PAKISTAN UNDER MARTIAL LAW: POLITICAL OUTLOOK

1. SUMMARY: THE ARMY TAKE-OVER, GENERALLY WELL RECEIVED BY THE PEOPLE, HAS BROUGHT SHORT-TERM STABILITY TO PAKISTAN. HOWEVER, SEVERAL KEY QUESTIONS REMAIN. DESPITE ZIA'S PLEDGE THAT HE WILL HOLD ELECTIONS IN OCOTBER AND HAND OVER POWER, THE ARMY'S ULTIMATE INTENTIONS ARE STILL QUESTIONED BY
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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 07351 01 OF 03 191333Z

SOME. IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED, HOWEVER, THAT ZIA DESIRES A SPEEDY RETURN TO REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. THE FATE OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO IS CLOSELY LINKED TO THIS PROCESS. WHILE THERE ARE MANY WITHIN AND
WITHOUT THE ARMY
WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE BHUTTO REMOVED FROM THE SCENE, ZIA HAS SO FAR SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED THESE PRESSURES, CONVINCED

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

THAT THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY STILL LIES WITH THE POLITICIANS.

2. FOR BHUTTO, THE QUESTION OF SURVIVAL IS PARAMOUNT. ASSUMING HE IS ALLOWED TO CONTEST THE ELECTIONS--AS WE BELIEVE HE WILL BE--HE WILL HAVF TO WAGE A POWERFUL CAMPAIGN TO PULL OFF A COMEBACK VICTORY, WHICH APPEARS UNLIKELY. FACED WITH THIS DILEMMA, HE MAY DECIDE NOT TO RUN AND WAIT UNTIL HIS CHANCES LOOK BETTER TO REENTER THE POLITICAL ARENA. HOWEVER, RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE FORMER PM AND HIS SUPPORTERS INDICATE THAT HE WILL PROBABLY CONTEST.

3. THE MAIN PROBLEM FOR THE OPPOSITION IS COPING WITH TIS APPARENT SUCCESS. SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THE PNA, BUOYED BY BHUTTO'S REMOVAL FROM POWER AND THE PROSPECT OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, WILL FALL APART AS VARIOUS PARTIES OR GROUPS OF PARTIES WITHIN IT STRUGGLE FOR POWER. HOWEVER, UNITY HAS SERVED THE PNA WELL AND BHUTTO IS STILL FEARED. IF BHUTTO DOES RUN, THESE TWO ELEMENTS, WE BELIEVE, WILL KEEP THE OPPOSITION TOGETHER AT LEAST THROUGH THE ELECTIONS.

4. US INTERESTS IN PAKISTAN ARE BEST SEVED BY STABILITY BASED ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. THE MILITARY TAKE-OVER, A SEEMINGLY RETROGRESSIVE STEP, MAY FURTHER THESE INTERESTS IF ZIA HOLDS ELECTIONS AS PROMISED AND THE GOVERNMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 07351 01 OF 03 191333Z

RETURNS TO CIVILIAN CONTROL. IN THE MEANTIME, WE SHOULD MAINTAIN A LOW PROFILE AND CONDUCT RELATIONS ON A NORMAL BASIS. END SUMMARY.

5. THE ARMY TAKE-OVER ON MIDNIGHT JULY 4/5 HAS BROUGHT TEMPORARY STABILITY TO PAKISTAN. THE KEY POLITICAL LEADERS ON BOTH SIDES, INCLUDING FORMER PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO, ARE IN PROTECTIVE CUSTODY, FORMAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAS BEEN BANNED AND THE LAW AND ORDER SITUATION STABILIZED. ON THE WHOLE, THE PUBLIC HAS GREETED THE TAKE-OVER WITH RELIEF, SOME, PARTICULARLY PRO-OPPOSITION ELEMENTS, HAVE WELCOMED IT.GENERAL ZIA, THE CHIEF MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE REGIME WILL BE A TEMPORARY ONE. THE ARMY'S ONLY INTENTION, HE HAS SAID, IS TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER AND HOLD FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS INVEKTBER. # HOPES HAVE BEEN AROUSED THAT THE COUNTRY MAY RETURN QUICKLY TO A CIVILIAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

6. SEVERAL KEY QUESTIONS,HOWEVER, REMAIN UNANSWERED. THE FIRST, AND MOST IMPORTANT, IS WHETHER THE ARMY IS ORGANIZED TO HOLD ELECTIONS AND TURN OVER POWER OR NOT. SO FAR, ZIA APPEARS TO

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

BE SINCERE, BUT HE COULD CHANGE HIS
MIND. A SECOND KEY QUESTION IS WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN
TO BHUTTO,
IT IS GENERALLY ASSUMED TKAT THE ARMY WILL
ALLOW HIM TO RUN IF ELECTIONS AREHELD, AND INITIAL

INDICATIONS ARE HE WILL CONTEST. HOWEVER, HE MAY DECIDE
NOT TO DO SO. THE FUTURE OF THE OPPLITION PAKISTAN
NATIONAL ALLIANCE (PNA) IS ALSO UNCLEAR. DESPITE THE FACT
THAT THE ARMY TAKE-OVER HAS STRENGTHENED THE PNA, IT MIGHT
FRAGMENT WITHOUT THE SPECTER OF A POWERFUL BHUTTO TO KEEP
IT TOGETHER. IF THIS HAPPENS, PARTY ALIGNMENTS WOULD
CHANGE
INTRODUCING FURTHER UNKNOWNS.
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PAGE 04 ISLAMA 07351 01 OF 03 191333Z

7. MARTIAL LAW REGIME: SO FAR, SO GOOD: THE ARMY REACTED
IN RESPONSE TO THE POPULAR MOOD IN REMOVING BHUTTO FROM
POWER
AND RESTORING ORDER TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS. FOR
THIS, IT HAS RECEIVED WIDESPREAD SUPPORT. TO RETAIN THIS
SUPPORT, THE ARMY MUST DO TWO THINGS:
HOLD ELECTION AS PROMISED AND TURN
OVER POWER TO A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. WHILE THESE ARE ITS
STATED INTENTIONS, IT MAY ENCOUNTER PROBLEMS IN FULFILLING
THEM.

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07451 02 OF 03 191439Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-07 DHA-02
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R 190950Z JUL 77 ZDK
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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2905
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 7451

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

8. THE TEMPORARY NATURE OF ZIA'S RULE PRESUPPOSES HE WILL NOT MAKE ANY MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS. THE CENTO LINK WILL BE PRESERVED, INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, TREATIES AND BILATERAL CONTRACTS (INCLUDING, ACCORDING TO ZIA, THE REPORCESSING PLANT SALE) ADHERED TO AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS MAINTAINED WITH PAKISTAN'S TRADITIONAL ALLIES. PROBLEMS LIKE KASHMIR AND RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN WILL BE AVOIDED. BARRING AN INTERNATIONAL CRISIS, ZIA IS EXPECTED TO HOLD TO THIS COURSE.
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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 07451 02 OF 03 191439Z

9. ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT, ZIA WILL SHY AWAY FROM TAKING ANY INTITATIVES THAT MIGHT STIR POLITICAL CONTROVERSY APART FROM THE USUAL ATTEMPTS BY THE MILITARY TO CLEAN UP SOCIETY AND ELIMINATE CORRUPTION. WERE HE TO DO OTHERWISE, THE STABILITY BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW WOULD BE THREATENED. THE ONLY EXCEPTION HAS BEEN A MARTIAL LAW ORDER WHICH IMPOSED TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC PUNISHMENTS--WHIPPING AND CUTTING OFF A HAND--FOR THEFT AND ABUSE OF WOMEN, BUT THIS WAS GENERALLY WELL RECEIVED. SO FAR, ZIA APPEARS DETERMINED TO LEAVE ALL MAJOR POLICY CHANGES, BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, TO THE NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. THIS MIGHT CHANGE IF, FOR SOME REASON, ELECTIONS ARE POSTPONED OR THE ARMY BEGINS TO HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT HANDING OVER POWER. ZIA MAY ALSO FIND THAT INACTION, IN SOME CASES, WILL PRODUCE CONTROVERSIAL RESULTS.

10. HOLDING ELECTIONS IS A MORE DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX MATTER AND RAISES THE QUESTION OF THE ARMY'S ULTIMATE INTENTIONS. IT IS PRESUMED THAT ZIA MEANS WHAT HE SAYS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

ABOUT GOING TO THE POLLS IN OCTOBER AND THAT HE UNDERSTANDS
THAT IT WOULD BE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE ARMY TO
RETAIN POPULAR SUPPORT IF HE RENEGED ON THIS PROMISE.
SO FAR, HE HAS KEPT HIS WORD AND BEGUN TO IMPLEMENT HIS
PROGRAM. THERE ARE SOME, HOWEVER, WHO BELIEVE THAT
ZIA WILL BE RELUCTANT, HAVING ONCE TASTED POWER, TO HAND
OVER CONTROL. ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, HE WOULD ATTEMPT
TO POSTPONE ELECTIONS AS FIRST STEP TOWARD PERPETUATING
HIS RULE. THIS MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH SOME DEGREE OF
PUBLIC SUPPORT IF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, ONCE ALLOWED TO
START, BECOMES VIOLENT AND THE ARMY HAD TO BAN ALL
POLITICAL ACTIVITY TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER AGAIN. WIDE-
SPREAD FLOODING, IF IT OCCURS THIS SUMMER, COULD BE USED
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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 07451 02 OF 03 191439Z

AS ANOTHER SXURUX #.
HOWEVER, THIS IS A MINORITY VIEW.

11. MOST OBSERVERS POINT OUT THAT ZIA HAS SHOWN CONSIDERABLE
RESTRAINT IN DEALING WITH THE PRESENT CRISIS, AND ONLY
IMPOSED MARTIAL LAW WHEN HE THOUGHT THERE WAS NO CHANCE OF
AN ELECTORAL AGREEMENT. HAVING GOTTEN INTO POLITICS,
THEY BELIEVE HE WILL TRY TO GET OUT AGAIN AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE. THIS WOULD BE IN ACCORD WITH HIS CONSERVATIVE,
PRO-DEMOCRATIC TEMPERAMENT AND APPARENT DESIRE TO RETURN

THE ARMY TO ITS PROPER CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE. THEY ALSO
NOTE THAT THE COUNTRY HAD A BITTER EXPERIENCE UNDER THE
TWO PREVIOUS MILITARY GOVERNMENTS AND IS NOT AT THIS TIME
PREPARED TO SUFFER SUCHA REGIME AGAIN. IF ZIA TRIED TO
REMAIN IN POWER, THE SAME MOVEMENT THAT SWEPT BHUTTO FROM
OFFICE COULD TURN ON THE ARMY WITH A VENGEANCE, ELIMINATING
ANY HOPE FOR POLITICAL STABILITY. VIRTUAL CIVIL WAR COULD
RESULT, THREATENING THE SURVIVAL OF THE ARMY ITSELF. IT
IS UNLIKELY, THEY ASSERT, THAT ZIA WOULD COMMIT THE ARMY,
AND THE NATION TO SUCH A DANGEROUS COURSE. WE ALSO
BELIVE THAT HE WOULD NOT DO SO.

12. NOT ALL THE ARMY'S PROBLEMS WILL BE SOLVED ONCE IT
DECIDES TO HOLD ELECTIONS. THE KEY QUESTION STILL REMAINS
WHAT TO DO WITH BHUTTO. DESPITE ZIA'S PRONOUNCEMENTS
THAT BHUTTO IS A VIABLE POLITICAL FORCE AND MUST BE ALLOWED
TO TAKE HIS CASE TO THE PEOPLE, THERE ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN
THE ARMY AND ELSEWHERE THAT WOULD PREFER TO SEE BHUTTO
REMOVED FROM THE SCENE. PROMINENT AMONG THEM ARE SOME OF
ZIA'S CORPS COMMANDERS AND OTHER TOP ARMY OFFICERS. AN
UNKNOWN PERCENTAGE, PERHAPS SIZABLE, OF THE REMAINING
OFFICER CORPS AND ENLISTED MEN ARE ALSO OPPOSED TO BHUTTO.
THE ARMY STILL HARBORS GRAVE DOUBTS ABOUT BHUTTO'S ROLE
DURING THE BANGLADESH CRISIS AND REMAINS BITTER ABOUT ITS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

DEFEAT. IT WOULD LIKE TO SEE THIS BLOT ON ITS RECORD
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PAGE 04 ISLAMA 07451 02 OF 03 191439Z

ERASED AND BLAME SHIFTED TO THE POLITICIANS WHERE THE ARMY BELIEVES IT BELONGS. THERE ARE MANY IN THE ARMY WHO HOLD BHUTTO PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR CORRUPTION AND MISRULE DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS, PARTICULARLY HIS ALLEGED RIGGING OF THE MARCH GENERAL ELECTIONS. THERE IS ALSO FEAR THAT BHUTTO WOULD ACT HARSHLY AGAINST THE ARMY IF HE RETURNED TO POWER. REMOVING HIM NOW WOULD NOT ONLY MEAN DOING THE NATION A SERVICE, BUT ALSO PROTECT THE ARMY FROM CERTAIN RETRIBUTION. THIS ARGUMENT CONCLUDES WITH THE NOTION THAT BHUTTO IS A SPENT POLITICAL FORCE, BUT COULD CREATE TROUBLE, ONCE FREED, THROUGH A LAVISH OUTLAY OF FUNDS-- THERE IS A RUMOR THAT LIBYAN LEADER QADAFFI HAS PROVIDED BHUTTO SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS AS A PERSONAL CAMPAIGN CHEST--AND DEMOGOGIC APPEALS TO THE MASSES.

13. ON BALANCE, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT ALLOWING BHUTTO TO CONTEST IS THE MOST LIKELY COURSE OF THE ARMY TO TAKE. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE ARMY TO DO OTHERWISE AND CLAIM THAT IT HAD GIVEN THE NATION A FREE AND FAIR ELECTION--WITHOUT BHUTTO AND THE PPP, THE LEGITIMACY OF THE POLLS WOULD ALWAYS BE QUESTIONED. ZIA WOULD HAVE TO GO BACK ON HIS WORD, SOMETHING HE WOULD NOT LIKE TO DO, AND THE ARMY COULD FACE OPPOSTION IN THE STREETS FROM THE PPP. THIS WOULD ENDANGER THE STABILITY THE ARMY HAS SOUGHT SO HARD TO PROVIDE. THERE IS ALSO THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO "GET" BHUTTO IN THE FIRST PLACE. EVIDENCE, NOT LIKELY OF A CRIMINAL NATURE, WOULD HAVE TO BE PRODUCED TO PUT HIM ON TRIAL OR PERSUADE HIM TO RETIRE FROM POLITICS. UNLESS HE RETIRED, HE WOULD NOT BE PERMANENTLY REMOVED FROM THE SCENE AND MIGHT BE ABLE TO CONTINUE THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WHILE DEFENDING HIMSELF IN COURT. IF NECESSARY, HE COULD EVEN RUN FROM JAIL. NONE OF THESE ALTERNATIVE WOULD LIKELY ALLOW FOR A SMOOTH RETURN TO CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. THE
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PAGE 05 ISLAMA 07451 02 OF 03 191439Z

IRONY OF THE SITUATION IS THAT THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY STILL LIES ALMOST ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF THE POLITICIANS,

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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07451 03 OF 03 191625Z
ACTION NEA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 7451

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

ESPECIALLY BHUTTO, IN SPITE OF THE ARMY TAKE-OVER. THUS FAR, ZIA SEEMS TO HAVE GRASPED THIS CENTRAL FACT AND HAS ACTED ACCORDINGLY.

14. BHUTTO AND THE PPP: SURVIVAL AT STAKE: ALTHOUGH NO LONGER PRIME MINSTER, BHUTTO REMAINS A POTENT POLITICAL FORCE. AS ONE TEHRIK SUPPORTER IN LAHORE RECENTLY TOLD AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST, "BHUTTO'S SHADOW WILL CONTINUE TO LIE OVER THE LAND FOR A LONG TIME TO COME." SPECULATION CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 07451 03 OF 03 191625Z

ABOUT HIS FUTURE IS INTENSE AS BHUTTO, WITH HIS BACK TO THE WALL, FIGHTS FOR THIS POLITICAL LIFE. AT PRESENT, HE HAS THREE OPTIONS: TO CONTEST THE ELECTIONS, IF ALLOWED

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

TO DO SO; TO BOYCOTT THE POLLS OR TO QUIT POLITICS ENTIRELY. FEW BELIEVE THAT HE WILL QUIT. BHUTTO IS A GUT FIGHTER AND IS EXPECTED TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO REGAIN POWER. A BOYCOTT IS POSSIBLE IF HE FEELS THAT HE HAS NO CHANCE TO WIN. IN THIS CASE HE MIGHT PREFER TO STAY AWAY FROM THE CAMPAIGN, HOPING TO ENTER THE POLITICAL ARENA AT A LATER STAGE WHEN CHANCES LOOK BETTER.

15. THE MOST LIKELY ALTERNATIVE, HOWEVER, IS THAT BHUTTO WILL CONTEST THE ELECTIONS. HE STILL ENJOYS SOME MASS SUPPORT AMONG THE POORER CLASSES AND CAN NOT BE COUNTED OUT. RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE FORMER PM AND SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES INDICATE A DEFINITE INTEREST IN GOING TO THE POLLS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI, THE PPP IS THE BEST ORGANIZED PARTY IN THE COUNTRY. BHUTTO WILL NOT HAVE THE GOVERNMENT MACHINERY TO HELP HIM, BUT THE PARTY SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF MOUNTING A RELATIVELY WELL-ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN. ABOVE ALL, THERE ARE BHUTTO'S CONSIDERABLE ABILITIES AS A CHARISMATIC POLITICAL LEADER. EVEN AS A DEPOSED PRIME MINITER, HE WILL BE A FORMIDABLE CAMPAIGNER. DESPITE THE LOSS OF CREDIBILITY HE HAS SUFFERED SINCE THE ELECTIONS, HE REMAINS THE MOST IMPOSING POLITICAL FIGURE IN THE COUNTRY. ASSUMING THAT THE PPP HOLDS TOGETHER--WE THINK MOST OF IT WILL IF BHUTTO RUNS--THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMEBACK VICTORY, HOWEVER UNLIKELY IT NOW LOOKS, CAN NOT BE RULED OUT.

16. THE PNA: SO NEAR YET SO FAR: DESPITE THE ARMY TAKE-OVER, WHICH HAS FULFILLED MOST OF THEIR DEMANDS, THE PNA REMAINS UNCERTAIN ABOUT THE FUTURE. BHUTTO IS OUT OF
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POWER, BUT THEY ARE NOT YET IN. FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS UNDER ARMY CONTROL APPEAR TO BE ASSURED, BUT VICTORY IS NOT. THE OPPOSITIONS BIGGEST PROBLEM MAY BE COPING WITH ITS APPARENT SUCCESS. WITH BHUTTO GONE, AT LEAST FOR A TIME, THE PNA MAY FIND THAT IT CAN LONGER REMAIN UNITED. SOME PARTIES WITHIN THE ALLIANCE MAY BE TEMPTED TO GO IT ALONE OR IN COMBINATIOS WITH ONE OR MORE OF THEIR FORMER COALITION PARTNERS IN A BID TO WIN IT ALL. HOWEVER, IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT THE OPPOSITION WILL HANG TOGETHER IF BHUTTO DECIDES TO CONTEST THE ELECTION. THE MYTH OF HIS INVINCIBILITY, IN SPITE OF THE ARMY TAKE-OVER DIES HARD. HAVING COME THIS FAR. THE OPPOSITION WOULD NOT WANT TO RISK A SPLIT THAT WOULD LAY THEM OPEN TO PIECEMEAL ATTACK: UNITY HAS SERVED THEM WELL. IF THE PNA REMAINS TOGETHER, IT APPEARS THEY HAVE A GOOD CHANCE OF WINNING THE ELECTIONS.

17. ANY SPLIT BY THE OPPOSITION IF BHUTTO DECIDED TO QUIT

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

THE SCENE OR BOYCOTT THE ELECTIOS WOULD ALMOST SURELY DIM PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY. WHICHEVER OPPOSITION PARTY OR GROUP GAINED POWER WOULD LIKELY BE PREOCCUPIED WITH CONTERING ITS POLITICAL ENEMIES AND INSUREING ITS SURVIVAL. IT COULD NOT CONCENTRATE ON THE NATION-BUILDING PROCESB OR EFFECTIVELY RECONCILE COMPETING POLITICAL DEMANDS WITHIN THE COUNTRY. MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT SUCH A GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT LAST LONG AND ELECTIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE HELD AGAIN, ALWAYS A RISK IN PAKISTAN.

18. US INTERESTS: IT IS A TENET OF US POLICY IN PAKISTAN THAT OUR INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY STABILITY BASED ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. THE MILITRY TAKE-OVER, WHICH ENDED DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, MAY ULTIMATELY FURTHER THESE INTERESTS. AS NOTED ABOVE, HOWEVER , WE BELIEVE THAT THE ACCEPTABILITY OF THE MILITARY'S ACTION IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE TEMPORARY NATURE OF THE INTERREGNUM. PAKISTAN'S BEST HOPE FOR LONG-TERM STABILITY DEPENDS ON A RETURN TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 07451 03 OF 03 191625Z

FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENT. THEREFORE, ZIA'S STATED INTENTION TO HOLD ELECTIONS IN OCTOBER REMAIN CONSONANT WITH OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES.

19. DURING THE INTERREGNUM, WE BELIEVE IT BEST WE KEEP A LOW PROFILE CONDUCTING BUSINESS AS USUAL. ZIA DOES NOT WANT TO EFFECT RADICAL CHANGES IN PAKISTAN'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY. PAKISTAN'S COMMITMENTS AND AGREEMENTS WITH THE US REMAIN IN FORCE AND NO NEW THREAT TO U.S. INTERESTS HAS BEEN INTRODUCED BY THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. WE SHOULD THEREFORE TRUST ZIA'S REGIME IN A WAY THAT REFLECTS HIS OWN ASSESSMENT OF HIS RULE-EMPHASIZING A CONTINUUM IN PAKISTAN'S POLICIES AND ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS.
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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

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22 May 2009
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